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DIPL 6403 NA The European Union External Policies

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**JOHN C. WHITEHEAD SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

SETON HALL UNIVERSITY

THE EUROPEAN UNION EXTERNAL POLICIES
(DIPL 6403NA-Sring 2012)

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W. 6 :15-8:25pm

I. Course Description and Objectives

The purpose of this course is to explore the changing role and influence of the European Union (EU) as an international actor on the global stage. *The focus is on the EU's external relations with non-member states and non-state actors and its emerging role in world affairs.* Since the EU is less than a unitary state actor and more than a conventional international organization, particular attention will be given to the elements of its international “actorness”, decision-making processes, specific policy instruments and impact through an examination of such selected policy areas as security and defense, trade, the environment, development and humanitarian assistance

More specifically, the aims of the course are :to enable students

- ▶▶ to develop a conceptual, and practical understanding of the European Union as a distinct and unique international actor in world politics;
- ▶▶ to be cognizant of the role of EU members and non-Union members in the development and exercise of the EU external authority;
- ▶▶ to become familiar with academic and political debates about the workings of EU institutions and decision-making processes through the EU articulates and exerts its external authority;
- ▶▶ to comprehend the problems facing the Union at the beginning of the twenty-first century, especially the implications of enlargement for its international role in the future. 2. To offer

II. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the semester, students will

- ▶▶ have a firm grasp of the “actorness”, capabilities and limitations of the EU as a global actor in international relations;

- ▶ recognize and apply relevant theoretical approaches to the study of the EU's international activities;
- ▶▶ be able to demonstrate a sound factual and theoretical knowledge of the legal and institutional framework and decision-making processes of the EU in relation to its external policies and comment critically on the various forms of EU's relations with the external world;
- ▶▶ be able to locate and use effectively the major sources of information for the study of the EU., including the websites of the EU and other relevant authorities and international organizations.

III. Student responsibilities and expectations

1. Required reading: texts

Karen Smith. *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*. 2nd edition Malden, MA: Polity, Press, 2008. ISBN 978 0 74564 018 1

Desmond Dinan. *Ever Closer Union. An Introduction to European Integration*. Fourth edition. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2010. ISBN: 978-1-58826-607-1

Additional required readings are listed in the syllabus under individual substantive topics.

2. Other useful texts:

Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*. London, New York: Routledge, 2006.

Walter Carlsnaes, Helene Sjursen, and Brian White (eds), *Contemporary European Foreign Policy*, London, Thousands Oaks, New Dehli: SAGE Publications 2004.

Fraser, Cameron. *An Introduction to European Foreign Policy*. Routledge, 2007.

Christopher Hill, & Smith, Michael: *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford University Press, 2005

John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union*, Palgrave / Westview Press, 4th edition 2008

Dieter Mahncke (ed.), Peter Lang, *European foreign policy - from rhetoric to reality ?*, 2004.

J. Orbie, *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

André Sapir, , "Fragmented Power: Europe and the Global Economy", Bruegel Books, 2007

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, Mark Pollack (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford UP, 5th edition 2005.

Brian White. *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*. Oxford: Polity Press, 2003.

3. Online sources of information about the EU:

To keep abreast of current issues related to the EU's external policies, students may consult:

▶ The European Union web site provides access to all the EU's institutions, presidencies of the EU and official documents including the treaties and other official publications:
<http://europa.eu.int/index.htm>

Also useful are:

▶ EU@UN website: <http://europa-eu-un.org>

▶ European Commission Directorate-General for External Affairs: .
http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/index_en.htm

▶ Europa- Information Services: http://europa.eu/geninfo/info/guide/index_en.htm

▶ Another useful gateway is the 'useful links' section of the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) at <http://www.uaces.org/>

▶ A key resource is the European Foreign Affairs Bulletin, a database of some 6,000 documents on EU external relations, catalogued by year and available at <http://www.iue.it/EFPB/Welcome.html>.

▶ The *Chaillot Papers* and *Occasional Papers* published by the European Union Institute for Security Studies to be found at <http://www.iss-eu.org/> The EU-ISS

▶ Archive of European Integration (University of Pittsburgh):
<http://aei.pitt.edu/view/series/JeanMonnetRobertSchumanPaperSeries.html>

▶ Centre for European Policy Studies: <http://www.ceps.be/index3.php>

▶ Centre for European Reform: <http://www.cer.org.uk/>

▶ EurActiv: <http://www.euractiv.com/en/HomePage>

▶ EUobserver: <http://euobserver.com/> Provides daily news on the EU foreign and security policy for subscribers

▶ Fornet: network of teaching and research on European foreign policy on line at www.fornet.info/cfspforum.html

▶ Institute for European Politics: <http://www.iep-berlin.de/index.php?id=home&L=1>

▶ Observatory of European Foreign Policy (Barcelona):

http://selene.uab.es/cs_iuee/english/obs/index.html

▶ Trans European Policy Studies Association: <http://www.tepsa.be/index.asp>

▶ Institute for International and European Policy, Universite Catholique de

Louvain.Exploring EU foreign policy

<http://soc.kuleuven.be/iieb/eufp/content/research>

4. Journals:

The Common Market Law Review

Cooperation and Conflict

European Foreign Affairs Review

European Journal of International Law

European Journal of International Relations

Human Rights Law Review

International Affairs
International Organization
International Politics
Journal of Common Market Studies
Journal of European Integration/Revue d'Intégration Européenne
Journal of European Public Policy
Mediterranean Politics
Review of International Studies
Survival
Third World Quarterly
West European Politics
The World Today

5. Class presentations

Each class meeting will be structured around students' presentations of the required readings summarizing and assessing the main required readings on the basis of the "discussion questions" spelled out in the syllabus. Each student is expected to make at least two such presentations during the semester.

6. Individual research project. (15-20 page long)

This paper must relate to a specific aspect of EU foreign policy and/or role in international affairs and be approved by the instructor. It must describe and explain that particular component of EU policies/roles in terms of one of the conceptual and theoretical models discussed in class at the beginning of the semester, (neo-functionalism, liberal internationalism, New institutionalism, policy networks and social constructivism). Specific steps in this exercise involve the submission of a research proposal, an annotated bibliography, a detailed outline and a 2-3 page introduction at set dates throughout the semester (see "important dates in section 7 below)

Suggestions for topics:

Has September 11 changed the nature of the debate about EU security policy?
Is the European financial crisis reshaping/undermining the Union?
What is the political impact of the EU on the Middle East peace process?
What is the role of human rights and democracy in EU relations with developing countries?
How important is sustainable development in EU relations with developing countries?
What kind of development policy can the EU have in a globalizing world?
What does the EU role in the former Yugoslavia tell us about the development of ESDP?
Is the EU role in the Middle East peace process building a visible international identity?
Is the EU's relationship with the ACP countries best characterized as "development policy" or "neo-colonialism"?
What is the role of the EU in the G8?

What is the relationship of the EU with WTO? The UN? Other international regional organizations?
What role does the EU play in international peacekeeping?
What are the prospects of a closer association between the EU and its Mediterranean neighbors?
Are the “transatlantic partners” pillars of the Atlantic community or rival blocs in a multi-polar world? Are they likely to evolve toward ‘devotion’ or ‘divorce’?
How important is China in EU external relations?

7. Important dates:

January 18: First class
February 22: Paper proposals due
March 21: Annotated bibliography due
April 18: Detailed paper outlines due
May 2: Last day of class
May 9-15: Papers due

IV. Determination of grades

Class participation: 15%; Presentations: 35%; Term Paper: 50%

V. Course Outline

Part I Introduction to the European Union and its external role

Topic 1: What is this course about?

In class reading:

► **Stephen Castle, Discontent Over E.U. Foreign Policy Chief Goes Public.** *New York Times*, May 23, 2011 at <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/24/world/europe/24iht-ashton24.html>

► **Ronald McKinn, “Oh, for an Alexander Hamilton to Save Europe!”** *Financial Times*, 12/19/2011 at <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/811611d6-273a-11e1-b7ec-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1ihsxY7Lf>

► **Bret Stephens, What Comes After ‘Europe’,** *Wall Street Journal* (9/10/11) at <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424053111904106704576580522348961298.html>

► **“EU Still a Model for a volatile world,”** *Financial Times*, 3 January 2012 at <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/97dfe9fa-354f-11e1-84b9-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1ihsxY7Lf>

Topic 2: Understanding the EU as an international actor: theory and conceptual tools: “actorness”, “presence”, “capabilities”, “identity”. Neo-functional, liberal internationalism, “new institutionalism”, policy networks and social constructivism approaches

Core reading:

- ▶ Smith, Ch. 1.
- ▶ Laursen, Finn. (2008) Theory and Practice of Regional Integration. Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series, Vol. 8 No. 3 February 2008. to be retrieved from <http://aei.pitt.edu/8219/01/LaursenLongSympos08RegIntegedi.pdf>
- ▶ Daniel C. Thomas and Ben Tonra, To What Ends EU Foreign Policy? Contending Approaches to the Union’s Diplomatic Objectives and Representation. *DEI Working Paper 11-2*. UCD Dublin European Institute, 2011
<http://www.ucd.ie/t4cms/11-2%20Thomas%20and%20Tonra.pdf>

Other readings

- ▶ Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration*. New York: Palgrave, 1999
- ▶ André Sapir, *Fragmented Power- Europe and the Global Economy*, Bruegel Books, Brussels
2007, pp. i-xii and 1-20
- ▶ M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.). *Debates on European Integration: A Reader*. London: Palgrave, 2006.

Discussion Questions:

- ▶ Which theory appears to offer the most compelling account of the process of European integration?
- ▶ Define European “foreign policy”.
- ▶ Why has cooperation in foreign policy been so much more difficult to organize at the EU level than economic cooperation?

Part II Development of the EU’s external relations policies

Topic 3: How did we get here? From the Schuman Plan to Maastricht... to...constitution building?

Core reading:

- ▶ Dinan, Ch. 1-6

Other readings

- ▶ Desmond Dinan, “How did we get here?”, *The European Union: How does it work?* Edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb. Oxford University Press 2003, pp. 19-39.
- ▶ Geoffrey Edwards, “The Pattern of the EU’s Global Activity”, *International relations and the European Union*, Edited by Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford University Press, 2005. pp. 39-63)

Discussion Questions:

- ▶ Are France and Germany bound to lead Europe? Can the United States be described as a “federator” of Europe?
- ▶ What economic and political factors impelled European integration during various states in its history?
- ▶ What impact is the Reform Treaty likely to have on the process of European integration? Same question about the current financial doldrums of the Union.

Topic 4: Actors, institutions and decision-making policy instruments: scope and capacity, power sharing, consensus

Core readings:

- ▶ Smith, Ch. 2-3
- ▶ Dinan, Ch. 7-11
- ▶ Aimee Kanner, Arias, (2008) *The European Union's International Political Capacity into the 21st Century*. Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series Vol. 8 No. 14, July 2008 .To be retrieved from <http://aei.pitt.edu/8914/01/KannerEUIntlPolCapLong08edi.pdf>

Other Readings:

- ▶ John McCormick, *The European Union: Politics and Policies*, Westview Press, 2008
- ▶ Simon Nuttall, *Coherence and Consistency in International Relations and the European Union*, edited by Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp.91-112.
- ▶ N. Nugent. *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 6th edition. Durham, NC.: Duke University Press, 2006.
- ▶ J. Peterson and M. Shackleton(eds.), *The Institutions of the European Union*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- ▶ Sophie Vanhoonacker, “The Institutional Framework in International Relations and the European Union”, edited by Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 67-89.

Discussion questions:

- ▶ Which EU institution is “most powerful”? Why?
- ▶ Why has the balance of powers between the EU’s institutions shifted over time?
- ▶ Which institution could most accurately be described as “the motor of integration”?
- ▶ Is the relationship between the EU’s institutions characterized more by cooperation or conflict?

Topic 5: Review of term paper proposals

Part III The external relations policies of the EU

Topic 6: Security and defense policy; conflict prevention

Core readings:

- ▶ Smith, Ch. 7 and appendix 1
- ▶ Dinan, Ch. 17
- ▶ Anand Menon, “European Defence Policy from Lisbon to Libya,” *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 53, No.3 (June-July 2011), pp. 75-90
<http://www.iiss.org/publications/survival/survival-2011/year-2011-issue-3/european-defence-policy-from-lisbon-to-libya/>
- ▶ Sven Biscop and Jo Coelmont. A Strategy for CSDP Europe’s Ambitions as a Global Security provider. Egmont Paper 37 Academia Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2010
<http://www.egmontinstitute.be/paperegm/ep37.pdf>

Other readings:

- ▶ Nicole Gnesoto (ed.). EU Security and Defense Policy. The First Five Years, 1999-2004. Paris: Institute for Security Studies, 2004.
- ▶ Jolyon Howorth, “From Security to Defence: The evolution of the CFSP”, in *The International Relations and the European Union*, Edited by Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 179-204
- ▶ “European Foreign, Security, and Defense Policy” pieces by Roy Ginsberg, Michael E. Smith, Hazel Smith, and Walter Carlsnaes, (2003). EUROPEAN UNION STUDIES ASSOCIATION. Vol. 16, No.1 ISSN 1535-7031 Winter 2003
At <http://aei.pitt.edu/68/01/CFSPForumWinter03.pdf>

▶ "Guide to the ESDP" nov.2008 edition Exhaustive guide on ESDP's missions, institutions and operations, written and edited by the Permanent representation of France to the European Union.

▶ Jean-Victor Louis. (2007) *The European Union: from External Relations to Foreign Policy?* College of Europe EU Diplomacy Paper 2/2007, February 2007 at <http://aei.pitt.edu/9591/01/EDP%202-2007%20Louis.pdf>

▶ Neil, I Nugent (2006). *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. The European Union Series (Paperback 630pp ed.). Palgrave Macmillan, New York. ISBN 0-230-00002-9, Hardback 630pp, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN 0-230-00001-0.

▶ Joylon, Howorth (2007). *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. The European Union Series (Paperback 315pp ed.). Palgrave Macmillan, New York. ISBN 0-333-63912-X, Hardback 315pp, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN 0-333-63911-1.

Discussion questions:

▶ The EU has over the past decade moved from a mostly “civilian” foreign and security policy to a stronger common defence policy. What were the limitations of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and how did it move to a defence policy? Has the rhetorical change been matched by actual deeds?

Topic 7: Terrorism and international crime

Core readings:

▶ Smith: Ch. 8

▶ Vlcek, William. (2007) Hitting the right target: EU and Security Council pursuit of terrorist financing. In *European Union Studies Association (EUSA) > Biennial Conference > 2007 (10th), May 17-19, 2007*, pages 27, Montreal, Canada.

At <http://aei.pitt.edu/8060/01/vlcek-w-09h.pdf>

▶ Council of the European Union. EU Action Plan on Combating Terrorism. Brussels, 9 December 2011

<http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/11/st17/st17594-re01.en11.pdf>

▶ European Commission. Home Affairs. “Fight Against Terrorism,”

http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/terrorism/terrorism_intro_en.htm

▶ W. Rees. *Transatlantic Counter-terrorism Cooperation. The New Imperative*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

- ▶ Sergio Carrera and Florian Geyer.. (2007) “Terrorism, Borders and Migration: The Commission's 2008 Policy Strategy in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice”. CEPS Policy Brief, No. 131, 1 June 2007.
- ▶ Paul Wilkinson. (2005) International terrorism: the changing threat and the EU's response. EU-ISS Chaillot Paper no. 84, October 2005 .
At <http://aei.pitt.edu/5729/01/chai84.pdf>

Discussion questions:

- ▶ To what extent has the EU been able to act upon the linkages between terrorism and poverty eradication and the promotion of good governance, democracy and human rights protection?
- ▶ In what ways has JHA become important in the EU's relations with non-EU members?
- ▶ In which areas of JHA should the EU pursue closer integration in the future?

Topic 8: Human Rights; Democracy and Good governance

Core readings:

- ▶ Smith, Ch. 5-6
- ▶ **European Union. *Annual Report on Human Rights. 2010 to be retrieved***
http://eeas.europa.eu/human_rights/docs/2011_hr_report_en.pdf

Other Readings:

- ▶ Philip Alton. *The EU and Human Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999
- ▶ Giuseppe Balducci . *The study of the EU promotion of human rights: the importance of international and internal factors.* , GARNET Working Paper No: 61/08. October 2008
http://www.garnet-eu.org/fileadmin/documents/working_papers/6108.pdf
- ▶ Lorand Bartels . *Human Rights Conditionality in the EU's International Agreements..*
Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Pp. 336.
- ▶ “The European Union and Human Rights: Towards A Post-National Human Rights Institution? *Human Rights Law Review* 2006 6(2):323-360
- ▶ Thierry Balzacq, and Sergio Carrera, (2005) The EU's Fight against International Terrorism - Security Problems, Insecure Solutions. CEPS Policy Briefs No. 80, 1 July 2005.
At http://aei.pitt.edu/6620/01/1247_80.pdf
- ▶ International Human Rights Network. *Human Rights-Based Approaches and European Union Development Aid Policies* 2008.
http://www.terredeshommes.org/pdf/pressreleases/hrba_briefing_paper.pdf

Discussion questions:

How credible are the EU human rights, good governance and democracy policies and practice?

Topic 9: The EU in international economic relations

Core readings:

▶ **Dinan, Ch. 12-14, 6**

▶ Young, Alasdair R. (2007) Trade Politics Ain't What It Used to Be: The Challenges for EU Policy and Analysis. In *European Union Studies Association (EUSA) > Biennial Conference > 2007 (10th), May 17-19, 2007*, pages 31, Montreal, Canada.

At <http://aei.pitt.edu/8030/01/young-a-10g.pdf>

Other Readings:

▶ Lorenzo Bini-Smaghi. Why is the Euro Area Still a Political Dwarf? Bruegel AISBL, 2007.

▶ Sophie Meunier and Nicolaidis Kalypso, 2006, "The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power", *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(6): 906-925.

▶ *Managing Interdependence: The EU in the World Economy* (Tsoukalis in Hill/Smith), chapter 11, pp. 225-246.

▶ The European Union as a Trade Power (Meunier and Nicoaidis in Hill/Smith), chapter 12, pp. 247-269.

▶ Charlotte Bretherton & John Vogler, "The EU as an economic power and trade actor" in *the EU as a Global actor*, Routledge 2nd edition 2006, pp. 62-88

▶ Adreas Dur and Manfred Elsig (eds.). *The European Union;s Foreign Economic Policies: A principal Agent Perspective*. Routledge, 2011.

▶ Christoph Hermann, The Treaty of Lisbon Expands the EU's External Trade and Investment Powers, *ASIL Insight* (September 21, 2010) Vol. 14, Issue 28.

▶ Andre Sapir (ed.). *Fragmented Power: Europe and the Global Economy*. Eurocomment, 2007

Discussion questions:

▶ The EU is a world leading trade power accounting for around 20% of global imports and exports. The Common Commercial Policy (CCP) has been in place at the core of EU's external relations since 1960s meaning that the EU's acts on behalf of its Member States as one single jurisdiction in all trade related matters. How does the EU regulate its trade policies and what is its role in the context of the Doha round.

Topic 10: Development and humanitarianism

Core readings:

- ▶ Dinan, Ch. 16
- ▶ Birchfield, Vicki L. (2007) The EU's Development Policy: Empirical Evidence of 'Normative Power Europe'?. In *European Union Studies Association (EUSA) > Biennial Conference > 2007 (10th), May 17-19, 2007*, pages 25, Montreal, Canada.
At <http://aei.pitt.edu/7701/01/birchfield-v-09i.pdf>
- ▶ Versluys, Helen. (2007) "Coherence in EU external action: the case of humanitarian aid". In *European Union Studies Association (EUSA) > Biennial Conference > 2007 (10th), May 17-19, 2007*, pages 33, Montreal, Canada.
At <http://aei.pitt.edu/8057/01/versluys-h-05g.pdf>

Other Readings:

- ▶ Anne Bigsten, "Development Policy: coordination, conditionality and coherence", in *Fragmented Power Europe and the Global Economy*, Edited by Sapir, André, Bruegel Books 2007, pp.94-128
- ▶ Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler. 2006. "The EU as Development and Humanitarian Actor", in Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*. London, New York: Routledge. 111-36.
- ▶ Stephen Dearden, (2007) "The Reform Agenda of the EU's Development Policy". In *European Union Studies Association (EUSA) > Biennial Conference > 2007 (10th), May 17-19, 2007*, pages 28, Montreal, Canada.
At <http://aei.pitt.edu/7794/01/dearden-s-11g.pdf>
- ▶ Stephen Dearden , "EU Development Policy: Delivering Aid Effectiveness"♣
To be retrieved from
<http://aei.pitt.edu/9008/01/DeardenEUdevelopmentLong08edi.pdf>
- ▶ European Commission. Annual Report 2010 on the European Union's Development and External Assistance Policies and their Implementation in 2009. Brussels, 2010.
http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/multimedia/publications/documents/annual-reports/europeaid_annual_report_2010_en.pdf
- ▶ European Commission, "ECHO Annual Report 2010"

http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ecuador/documents/echo_ayuda_humanitaria/20110201_annualreport_2010_es.pdf
- ▶ James Mayall, "The Shadow of Empire: The EU and the Former Colonial World", in "International Relations and the European Union", edited by Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford University Press, 2005, (Chapter 14, pp. 292-316)

- ▶ Versluys, H (2008) “Depoliticising and Europeanising humanitarian aid: Success of failure? Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 208-244

Discussion questions:

- ▶ The relationships between the EU and the former colonial world have changed over the past decades. What can be said about the driving forces behind the evolution of the EU’s postcolonial relations
- ▶ Development is a field of mixed competences, with responsibility shared between the EU and the Member States. How coherent is EU development policy and should there be a common EU policy for development?
- ▶ To what extent is EU humanitarian aid policy coherent with EU development, crisis management, and human rights activities?
 - ▶ Do tensions arise between the European Commission’s humanitarian office ECHO and the Council bodies in charge of the Common Foreign and Security Policy/European Security and Defence Policy?
 - ▶ Do the humanitarian aid initiatives of the European Commission and national humanitarian aid departments reinforce, contradict, or duplicate each other?
 - ▶ Is EU humanitarian aid policy consistent with the efforts of other donors?

Topic 11: Climate change and Environmental Policy

Core readings:

- ▶ Dinan, Ch. 15
- ▶ Groenleer, Martijn L.P. and van Schaik, Louise G. (2005) The EU as an ‘Intergovernmental’ Actor in Foreign Affairs: Case Studies of the International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol. CEPS Working Documents No. 228, 1 August 2005.
At http://aei.pitt.edu/6671/01/1256_228.pdf
- ▶ Jensen, Christian B. and Spoon, Jae-Jae. (2007) "Putting the Party Back In: Explaining EU Member State Compliance with the Kyoto Protocol, 1998-2003". In *European Union Studies Association (EUSA) > Biennial Conference > 2007 (10th), May 17-19, 2007*, Montreal, Canada.
<http://aei.pitt.edu/7919/01/jensen-c-04h.pdf>
- ▶ “Durban conference delivers breakthrough for climate” http://www.eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_11693_en.htm

Other Readings:

- ▶ Charlotte Bretherton, and John Vogler. 2006. “Environmental Policy: The EU as Global Actor”, in Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*. London, New York: Routledge. 89-110.

▶ Tom Delreux. *The EU as International Environmental Negotiator* Ashgate,
▶ Andrew Jordan (ed.). *Environmental Policy in the European Union. Actors, Institutions and processes*. Second edition. Earthscan, 2005.

011.

▶ Joseph Jupille and James Caporaso. 1998. "States, Agency, and Rules: The EU in Global Environmental Politics", in *The European Union in the World Community*, ed. Caroline Rhodes. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. 213-29.

▶ Andrea Lenschow. . 2005. "Environmental Policy: Contending Dynamics of Policy Change", in *Policy-Making in the European Union*, ed. Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 305-27.

Discussion questions

Why is environment policy important -- internationally and domestically --for the EU identity and image?

Topic 12: Relations with the UN

Core readings:

▶ Katie Verlin Laatikainen,. (2003) "Assessing EU foreign policy in the UN: capacity, identity, and context." In *European Union Studies Association (EUSA) > Biennial Conference > 2003 (8th), March 27-29, 2003*, pages 27, Nashville, Tennessee. To be retrieved from http://aei.pitt.edu/7065/01/000441_1.PDF

▶ *Improving Lives. Partnership between the UN and the European Union in 2010*. Brussels: United Nations, 2010.

<http://www.unbrussels.org/images/pdf/partnership/Improving-lives-2010-low-res.pdf>

Other Readings:

Katie Verlin Laatikainen and Karen E. Smith (eds.). *The European Union at the United Nations. Intersecting Multilateralisms*. New York: Palgrave, 2006.

Discussion questions:

How effective is the EU in terms of acting as a collective actor, exerting leadership, achieving its objectives and influencing UN processes and outputs?

Part IV Challenges to EU global role and its prospects

Topic 13 Transatlantic relations and enlargement

Core readings:

Dinan, Ch.18
Smith Ch. 9

Other Readings:

- ▶ Kristin Archick , U.S.-EU Cooperation Against Terrorism May 2, 2011
Washington DC:Congressional Research Service.
http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/CRS_USEUCooperationAgainstTerrorism.pdf
- ▶ Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* 113 (June/July 2002), 3-28
(available at: <http://www.policyreview.org/JUN02/kagan.html>)
- ▶ Charles Kupchan, "The Rise of Europe, America's Changing Internationalism, and the End of U.S. Primacy," *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (Summer 2003), 205-231
- ▶ Mark A. Pollack and Gregory C. Shaffer, eds., *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), chs.1 and 11
McCormick, 2007, *The European Super Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)
- ▶ Moravcsik, Andrew and Milada A. Vachudova. 2005. "Preferences, Power and Equilibrium: The Causes and Consequences of EU Enlargement", in *The Politics of European Union Enlargement. Theoretical Approaches*, eds. Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier. London: Routledge. 198-212.
- ▶ Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2002. "Theorizing EU Enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses, and the State of Research", *Journal of European Public Policy* 9:4. 500-28.
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Discussion questions:

- ▶ The EU has always been a hybrid of the intergovernmental, the federal and the functional. Which trend (s) do you think will prevail in the future?
- ▶ Can the EU remain a "civilian power"?